

Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 243

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SECTO 003

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS WHITE HOUSE FOR SCOWCROFT

ATTENTION: PA - AMBASSADOR LAISE

S/PRS - JOHN KING

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF SECRETARY'S ADDRESS TO
INAUGURAL SESSION OF MEXICO FOREIGN MINISTERS'
CONFERENCE AS PREPARED FOR DELIVERY:

ADDRESS OF

SECRETARY OF STATE
HENRY A. KISSINGER

TO THE

CONFERENCE OF TLATELOLCO

MR. PRESIDENT, DISTINGUISHED COLLEAGUES AND FRIENDS.

WE OWE OUR HOST COUNTRY AND ITS LEADERS A PROFOUND
DEBT OF GRATITUDE FOR SPONSORING THIS MEETING. PERSONALLY,
I HAVE SPENT MANY HAPPY DAYS IN THIS GREAT COUNTRY. AND I
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HAVE HAD THE PRIVILEGE OF THE ADVICE, WISDOM AND ON OCCASION

THE TENACIOUS OPPOSITION OF YOUR PRESIDENT AND FOREIGN MINISTER. I LOOK FORWARD TO AN EQUALLY FRANK, FRIENDLY, INTENSE BUT CONSTRUCTIVE DIALOGUE AT THIS CONFERENCE.

ON A PLAQUE IN NEXICO'S IMPOSING MUSEUM OF ANTHROPOLOGY ARE ETCHED PHRASES WHICH CARRY SPECIAL MEANING FOR THIS OCCASION:

"NATIONS FIND COURAGE AND CONFIDENCE TO FACE THE FUTURE BY LOOKING TO THE GREATNESS OF THEIR PAST. MEXICAN, SEEK YOURSELF IN THE MIRROR OF THIS GREATNESS. STRANGER, CONFIRM HERE THE UNITY OF HUMAN DESTINY. CIVILIZATIONS PASS; BUT MEN WILL ALWAYS REFLECT THE GLORY OF THE STRUGGLE TO BUILD THEM."

WE ASSEMBLE IN THE SPLENDID SHADOWS OF HISTORY'S MONUMENTS. THEY REMIND US OF WHAT CAN BE ACHIEVED BY INSPIRATION AND OF WHAT CAN BE LOST WHEN PEOPLES MISS THEIR OPPORTUNITY. WE IN THE AMERICAS NOW HAVE A GREAT OPPORTUNITY TO VINDICATE OUR OLD DREAM OF BUILDING A NEW WORLD OF JUSTICE AND PEACE, TO ASSUAGE THE WELL-BEING OF OUR PEOPLES -- AND TO LEAVE WHAT WE ACHIEVE AS A MONUMENT TO OUR STRIVING.

OUR COMMON IMPULSE IN MEETING HERE IS TO FULFILL THE PROMISE OF AMERICA AS THE CONTINENT WHICH BECKONED MEN TO FULFILL WHAT WAS BEST IN THEM. OUR COMMON REALITY IS THE RECOGNITION OF OUR DIVERSITY. OUR COMMON DETERMINATION IS TO DERIVE STRENGTH FROM THAT DIVERSITY. OUR COMMON TASK IS TO FORGE OUR HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL LINKS INTO SHARED PURPOSE AND ENDEAVOR.

IN THIS SPIRIT THE UNITED STATES OFFERED A NEW DIALOGUE LAST OCTOBER.

IN THIS SPIRIT THE COUNTRIES OF THE AMERICAS RESPONDED IN BOGOTA LAST NOVEMBER.

WE MEET HERE AS EQUALS -- REPRESENTATIVES OF OUR
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INDIVIDUAL MODES OF LIFE, BUT UNITED BY ONE ASPIRATION -- TO BUILD A NEW COMMUNITY.

WE HAVE AN HISTORIC FOUNDATION ON WHICH TO BUILD;
WE LIVE IN A WORLD THAT GIVES OUR ENTERPRISE A SPECIAL MEANING AND URGENCY.

ON BEHALF OF PRESIDENT NIXON, I COMMIT THE UNITED

STATES TO UNDERTAKE THIS VENTURE WITH DEDICATION AND ENERGY.

THE U.S. COMMITMENT

ONE CONCERN HAS DOMINATED ALL OTHERS AS I HAVE MET PRIVATELY WITH SOME OF MY COLLEAGUES IN THIS ROOM. DOES THE UNITED STATES REALLY CARE? IS THIS ANOTHER EXERCISE OF HIGH-SOUNDING DECLARATIONS FOLLOWED BY LONG PERIODS OF NEGLECT? WHAT IS NEW IN THIS DIALOGUE?

THESE QUESTIONS -- NOT UNRELATED TO HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE -- DEFINE OUR TASK. ON BEHALF OF MY COLLEAGUES AND MYSELF LET ME STRESS THAT WE ARE HERE TO GIVE EFFECT TO A NEW ATTITUDE AND TO HELP SHAPE A NEW POLICY. THE PRESENCE OF SO MANY DISTINGUISHED LEADERS FROM THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS UNDERLINES THE DEPTH OF THE UNITED STATES CONCERN FOR ITS NEIGHBORS AND THE DETERMINATION OF OUR GOVERNMENT TO IMPLEMENT OUR AGREEMENTS THROUGH A PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN THE EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATIVE BRANCHES.

THE TIME HAS COME TO INFUSE THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE RELATIONSHIPS WITH A NEW SPIRIT. IN THE NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURIES, THE UNITED STATES DECLARED WHAT THOSE OUTSIDE THIS HEMISPHERE SHOULD NOT DO WITHIN IT. IN THE 1930'S WE STIPULATED WHAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD NOT DO. LATER WE WERE PRONE TO SET STANDARDS FOR THE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL STRUCTURES OF OUR SISTER REPUBLICS.

TODAY WE MEET ON THE BASIS OF YOUR AGENDA AND OUR COMMON NEEDS. WE AGREE WITH ONE OF MY DISTINGUISHED COLLEAGUES WHO SAID ON ARRIVAL THAT THE TIME HAD COME

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TO MEET AS BROTHERS, NOT AS SONS. TODAY -- TOGETHER -- WE CAN BEGIN GIVING EXPRESSION TO OUR COMMON ASPIRATIONS AND START SHAPING OUR COMMON FUTURE.

IN MY VIEW, OUR FUNDAMENTAL TASK AT THIS MEETING -- MORE IMPORTANT EVEN THAN THE SPECIFICS OF OUR AGENDA -- IS TO SET A COMMON DIRECTION AND INFUSE OUR EFFORTS WITH NEW PURPOSE. LET US THEREFORE AVOID BOTH CONDESCENSION AND CONFRONTATION. IF THE UNITED STATES IS NOT TO PRESUME TO SUPPLY ALL THE ANSWERS, NEITHER SHOULD IT BE ASKED TO BEAR ALL THE RESPONSIBILITIES. LET US TOGETHER BRING ABOUT A NEW COMMITMENT TO THE INTER-AMERICAN COMMUNITY. LET US USE THE SPECIFIC ISSUES WE DISCUSS HERE AS A ROAD-MAP FOR THE FUTURE.

LET US NOT BE SATISFIED WITH PROCLAMATIONS BUT CHART
A PROGRAM OF WORK WORTHY OF THE CHALLENGE BEFORE US.

LET US CREATE A NEW SPIRIT IN OUR RELATIONS -- THE
SPIRIT OF TLATELOLCO (DLA TE LOLCO)

AN INTERDEPENDENT WORLD

A CENTURY AGO A U.S. PRESIDENT DESCRIBED TO THE
CONGRESS THE DIFFICULTIES FACING THE COUNTRY" "IT IS A
CONDITION WHICH CONFRONTS US -- NOT A THEORY."

THE CONDITION WE CONFRONT TODAY IS A WORLD WHERE
INTERDEPENDENCE IS A FACT, NOT A CHOICE.

THE PRODUCTS OF MAN'S TECHNICAL GENIUS -- WEAPONS
OF INCALCULABLE POWER, A GLOBAL ECONOMIC SYSTEM,
INSTANTANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS, A TECHNOLOGY THAT CONSUMES
FINITE RESOURCES AT AN EVER EXPANDING RATE -- HAVE
COMPRESSED THIS PLANET AND MULTIPLIED OUR MUTUAL DEPENDENCE.
THE PROBLEMS OF PEACE, OF JUSTICE, OF HUMAN DIGNITY, OF
HUNGER AND INFLATION AND POLLUTION, OF THE SCARCITY OF
PHYSICAL MATERIALS AND THE SURPLUS OF SPIRITUAL DESPAIR,
CANNOT BE RESOLVED ON A NATIONAL BASIS. ALL ARE NOW
CAUGHT UP IN THE TIDES OF WORLD EVENTS -- CONSUMERS AND
PRODUCERS, THE AFFLUENT AND THE POOR, THE FREE AND THE
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OPPRESSED, THE MIGHTY AND THE WEAK.

THE WORLD AND THIS HEMISPHERE CAN RESPOND IN ONE OF
TWO WAYS.

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THERE IS THE PATH OF AUTARCHY. EACH NATION CAN TRY TO EXPLOIT ITS PARTICULAR ADVANTAGES IN RESOURCES AND SKILLS, AND BARGAIN BILATERALLY FOR WHAT IT NEEDS. EACH NATION CAN TRY TO LOOK AFTER ITSELF AND SHRUG ITS SHOULDERS AT THE PLIGHT OF THOSE LESS WELL ENDOWED.

BUT HISTORY TELLS US THAT THIS LEADS TO EVER MORE VICIOUS COMPETITION, THE WASTE OF RESOURCES, THE STUNTING OF TECHNOLOGICAL ADVANCE, AND -- MOST FUNDAMENTALLY -- GROWING POLITICAL TENSIONS WHICH UNRAVEL THE FABRIC OF GLOBAL STABILITY. IF WE TAKE THIS ROUTE, WE AND OUR CHILDREN WILL PAY A TERRIBLE PRICE.

OR WE CAN TAKE THE PATH OF COLLABORATION. NATIONS CAN RECOGNIZE THAT ONLY IN WORKING WITH OTHERS CAN THEY MOST EFFECTIVELY WORK FOR THEMSELVES. A COOPERATIVE WORLD REFLECTS THE IMPERATIVES OF TECHNICAL AND ECONOMIC NECESSITY, BUT ABOVE ALL THE SWEEP OF HUMAN ASPIRATIONS.

THE UNITED STATES IS PLEDGED TO THIS SECOND COURSE. WE BELIEVE THAT WE OF THE AMERICAS SHOULD UNDERTAKE IT TOGETHER. THIS HEMISPHERE IS A REFLECTION OF MANKIND. ITS DIVERSITY REFLECTS THE DIVERSITY OF THE GLOBE. IT KNOWS THE AFFLICTIONS AND FRUSTRATIONS OF THE IMPOVERISHED. AT THE SAME TIME, MANY OF ITS MEMBERS ARE LEADERS AMONG MODERNIZING SOCIETIES. MUCH HAS BEEN DONE TO OVERCOME HIGH MORTALITY RATES, WIDESPREAD ILLITERACY, AND GRINDING POVERTY. THIS HEMISPHERE UNIQUELY INCLUDES THE PERCEPTIONS UNCLASSIFIED

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OF THE POST-INDUSTRIAL SOCIETIES, OF THOSE WHO ARE ONLY BEGINNING TO SAMPLE THE BENEFITS OF MODERNIZATION AND OF THOSE WHO ARE IN MID-PASSAGE.

THE AMERICAS REACH OUT TO OTHER CONSTELLATIONS AS WELL. THE NATIONS OF LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN SHARE MUCH OF THE STIRRINGS OF THE THIRD WORLD. THE UNITED STATES IS ENGAGED IN THE MAINTENANCE OF PEACE ON A GLOBAL BASIS. PURSUING OUR SEPARATE WAYS NARROWLY, WE COULD DRIFT APART TOWARDS DIFFERENT POLES. WORKING TOGETHER, WE CAN REINFORCE OUR WELL-BEING AND STRENGTHEN THE PROSPECTS FOR GLOBAL COOPERATION.

SO LET US BEGIN HERE IN THIS HEMISPHERE. IF WE, HERE IN THIS ROOM, FAIL TO GRASP THE CONSEQUENCES OF INTERDEPENDENCE, IF WE CANNOT MAKE THE MULTIPLICITY OF OUR TIES A SOURCE OF UNITY AND STRENGTH, THEN THE PROSPECTS FOR SUCCESS ELSEWHERE ARE DIM INDEED. THE WORLD COMMUNITY WHICH WE SEEK TO BUILD SHOULD HAVE A WESTERN HEMISPHERE COMMUNITY AS ONE OF ITS CENTRAL PILLARS.

PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA FORESAW THE GATHERING FORCE OF INTERDEPENDENCE IN 1972 WHEN HE SET FORTH HIS CHARTER OF THE ECONOMIC RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF STATES AS A GUIDE FOR THE CONDUCT OF RELATIONS AMONG COUNTRIES AT DIFFERENT LEVELS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. LAST SEPTEMBER BEFORE THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY I ENDORSED THAT CONCEPT. AT FIRST, SOME WERE CONCERNED BECAUSE THEY SAW THE CHARTER AS A SET OF UNILATERAL DEMANDS; IT HAS SINCE BECOME CLEAR THAT IT IS A FARSIGHTED CONCEPT OF MUTUAL OBLIGATIONS. IN THE EMERGING WORLD OF INTERDEPENDENCE, THE WEAK AS WELL AS THE STRONG HAVE RESPONSIBILITIES, AND THE WORLD'S INTEREST IS EACH NATION'S INTEREST.

WE CAN START BY MAKING THE CONCEPT OF THE CHARTER A REALITY IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE.

THE UNITED STATES VIEW OF THE AMERICAN COMMUNITY

THE UNITED STATES WILL DO ITS FULL PART TO SEE THAT
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OUR ENTERPRISE SUCCEEDS. WE CAN MAKE A MAJOR CONTRIBUTION, BUT IT WOULD BE IN NOBODY'S INTEREST IF WE RAISED IMPOSSIBLE EXPECTATIONS, LEAVING OUR PEOPLES FRUSTRATED AND OUR COMMUNITY EMPTY.

WE WILL PROMISE ONLY WHAT WE CAN DELIVER. WE WILL MAKE WHAT WE CAN DELIVER COUNT.

I HAVE CAREFULLY STUDIED THE AGENDA FOR THIS MEETING YOU PREPARED IN BOGOTA. I WILL RESPOND IN DETAIL TO ITS SPECIFICS IN OUR PRIVATE SESSIONS. BUT I WILL SAY HERE THAT I HAVE COME TO A GREATER UNDERSTANDING OF THE DEEPLY FELT MOTIVATIONS BEHIND THE PHRASES.

YOU ARE CONCERNED:

-- THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS PUT ASIDE ITS SPECIAL COMMITMENT TO THE HEMISPHERE;

-- THAT WE WILL ALLOW OLD ISSUES TO GO UNRESOLVED
WHILE NEW ONES ARE CREATED;

-- THAT WE SEEK NOT COMMUNITY BUT DOMINANCE;

-- THAT OUR RELATIONSHIP DOES NOT ADEQUATELY
CONTRIBUTE TO HUMAN WELFARE IN THE HEMISPHERE,
THAT IT IS OFTEN IRRELEVANT TO YOUR NEEDS AND
AN OBSTACLE TO THEIR FULFILLMENT.

IN RESPONSE LET ME OUTLINE THE DIRECTION THE UNITED
STATES PROPOSES TO ITS FRIENDS IN REDEDICATING ITSELF
TO A NEW ERA OF WESTERN HEMISPHERE RELATIONSHIPS. I
LOOK FORWARD TO HEARING YOUR OWN VIEWS SO THAT TOGETHER
WE CAN MAKE THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE COMMUNITY A REALITY.

THE UNITED STATES WILL DO ITS UTMOST TO SETTLE
OUTSTANDING DIFFERENCES. DURING THE PAST YEAR, THE
UNITED STATES AND MEXICO SOLVED THE LONG-STANDING
COLORADO RIVER SALINITY DISPUTE. TWO WEEKS AGO PANAMA
AND THE UNITED STATES -- TAKING ACCOUNT OF THE ADVICE
OF THEIR PARTNERS AT BOGOTA -- SIGNED A DOCUMENT THAT
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FORESHADOWS A NEW RELATIONSHIP. AND JUST 48 HOURS AGO,
PERU AND THE UNITED STATES SETTLED A DISPUTE OVER
COMPENSATION FOR THE EXERCISE OF PERU'S SOVEREIGN RIGHT
TO NATIONALIZE PROPERTY FOR PUBLIC PURPOSES.

THE UNITED STATES IS PREPARED TO WORK WITH THE OTHER
NATIONS OF THIS HEMISPHERE ON METHODS TO ELIMINATE NEW
DISPUTES OR TO MITIGATE THEIR EFFECT.

SOME OF OUR MOST TROUBLESOME PROBLEMS HAVE ARISEN
OVER DIFFERENCES CONCERNING THE RESPECTIVE RIGHTS AND
OBLIGATIONS OF PRIVATE UNITED STATES FIRMS OPERATING
IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES, AND THE COUNTRIES WHICH HOST THEM.
THESE DIFFERENCES ARE BASED LARGELY ON DIFFERING CONCEPTIONS
OF STATE SOVEREIGNTY AND STATE RESPONSIBILITY.

ON THE ONE HAND, IN KEEPING WITH THE CALVO DOCTRINE,
MOST NATIONS OF THIS HEMISPHERE AFFIRM THAT A FOREIGN
INVESTOR HAS NO RIGHT TO INVOKE THE PROTECTION OF HIS
HOME GOVERNMENT. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE UNITED STATES
HAS HELD THAT NATIONS HAVE THE RIGHT TO ESPOUSE THE CAUSE
OF THEIR INVESTORS IF THEY BELIEVE THEY HAVE BEEN
UNFAIRLY TREATED. THIS CONVICTION IS REFLECTED IN THE

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LEGISLATIVE PROVISIONS OF THE GONZALES AND HICKENLOOPER
AMENDMENTS.

REALISTICALLY, WE MUST ADMIT THAT THESE TWO ELEMENTS
CANNOT BE EASILY OR QUICKLY RECONCILED. BUT THE UNITED
STATES IS PREPARED TO BEGIN A PROCESS TO THIS END AND
TO MITIGATE THEIR EFFECTS. EVEN BEFORE A FINAL RESOLUTION
OF THE PHILOSOPHICAL AND LEGAL ISSUES, WE ARE READY TO
EXPLORE MEANS BY WHICH DISPUTES CAN BE REMOVED FROM THE
FOREFRONT OF OUR INTER-GOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS.

IN OUR PRIVATE MEETINGS I SHALL MAKE SPECIFIC
PROPOSALS TO ESTABLISH AGREED MACHINERY WHICH MIGHT NARROW
THE SCOPE OF DISPUTES. FOR EXAMPLE, WE MIGHT CONSIDER THE
ESTABLISHMENT OF A WORKING GROUP TO EXAMINE VARIOUS PROCEDURES
FOR FACT FINDING, CONCILIATION, OR THE SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES.
OTHER APPROACHES ARE POSSIBLE, AND I SHALL WELCOME THE VIEWS
OF MY COLLEAGUES. LET ME AFFIRM HERE THAT A PROCEDURE
ACCEPTABLE TO ALL THE PARTIES WOULD REMOVE THESE DISPUTES
AS FACTORS IN UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT DECISIONS
RESPECTING ASSISTANCE RELATIONSHIPS WITH HOST COUNTRIES.
AM WOULD BE PREPARED TO DISCUSS WITH OUR CONGRESS
APPROPRIATE MODIFICATIONS OF OUR LEGISLATION.

BUT WE CANNOT ACHIEVE OUR GOALS SIMPLY BY REMEDYING
SPECIFIC GRIEVANCES, OR EVEN BY CREATING MECHANISMS
THAT WILL ELIMINATE THE SOURCES OF THE DISPUTES. A
SPECIAL COMMUNITY CAN ONLY EMERGE IF WE INFUSE IT WITH
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LIFE AND SUBSTANCE.

WE MUST RENEW OUR POLITICAL COMMITMENT TO A WESTERN HEMISPHERE SYSTEM. THOMAS MACAULAY ONCE OBSERVED, "IT IS NOT THE MACHINERY THAT WE EMPLOY BUT THE SPIRIT WE ARE OF THAT IS IMPORTANT." WE ARE HERE BECAUSE WE RECOGNIZE THE NEED FOR COOPERATION. YET WE CAN ONLY COOPERATE IF OUR PEOPLE TRULY BELIEVE THAT WE ARE UNITED BY COMMON PURPOSES AND A SENSE OF COMMON DESTINY.

THE UNITED STATES WILL BE GUIDED BY THESE PRINCIPLES:

-- WE WILL NOT IMPOSE OUR POLITICAL PREFERENCES;

-- WE WILL NOT INTERVENE IN THE DOMESTIC AFFAIRS OF OTHERS;

-- WE WILL SEEK A FREE ASSOCIATION OF PROUD PEOPLES.

IN THIS WAY, THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE COMMUNITY CAN MAKE ITS VOICE AND INTERESTS FELT IN THE WORLD.

WE REALIZE THAT UNITED STATES GLOBAL INTERESTS SOMETIMES LEAD TO ACTIONS THAT HAVE A MAJOR EFFECT ON OUR SISTER REPUBLICS. WE UNDERSTAND, TOO, THAT THERE IS NO WHOLLY SATISFACTORY SOLUTION TO THIS PROBLEM.

HOWEVER, TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE SENSE OF COMMUNITY WE ALL SEEK, THE UNITED STATES COMMITS ITSELF TO CLOSE AND CONSTANT CONSULTATION WITH ITS HEMISPHERIC ASSOCIATES ON POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ISSUES OF COMMON INTEREST -- PARTICULARLY WHEN THESE ISSUES VITALLY AFFECT THE INTERESTS OF OUR PARTNERS IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE.

IN MY VIEW, THE BEST WAY TO COORDINATE POLICIES IS TO MAKE A SYSTEMATIC ATTEMPT TO SHAPE THE FUTURE. I THEREFORE RECOMMEND THAT TODAY'S MEETING BE CONSIDERED THE FIRST OF A SERIES. THE FOREIGN MINISTERS ASSEMBLED HERE SHOULD MEET PERIODICALLY FOR AN INFORMAL REVIEW OF THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND OF COMMON HEMISPHERIC PROBLEMS. IN THE INTERVAL BETWEEN OUR MEETINGS, THE UNCLASSIFIED

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HEADS OF OUR PLANNING STAFFS OR SENIOR OFFICIALS WITH SIMILAR RESPONSIBILITIES SHOULD MEET ON A REGULAR BASIS TO ASSESS PROGRESS ON A COMMON AGENDA. THE PRINCIPLE OF CONSULTATION ON MATTERS AFFECTING EACH OTHER'S

INTERESTS SHOULD BE APPLIED TO THE FULLEST EXTENT POSSIBLE.

SPECIFICALLY:

-- THE UNITED STATES IS PREPARED TO CONSULT AND
ADJUST ITS POSITIONS ON THE BASIS OF
RECIPROCITY, IN THE MULTILATERAL TRADE
NEGOTIATIONS.

-- THE UNITED STATES ALSO RECOGNIZES A FUNDAMENTAL
CONGRUITY OF INTERESTS AMONG THE COUNTRIES OF
THE HEMISPHERE IN GLOBAL MONETARY MATTERS. WE
FAVOR A STRONG VOICE FOR
LATIN AMERICA IN THE
MANAGEMENT OF A NEW MONETARY SYSTEM -- JUST AS
WE FAVOR ITS EFFECTIVE PARTICIPATION IN THE
REFORM OF THIS SYSTEM.

33 THE UNITED STATES IS READY TO UNDERTAKE PRIOR
CONSULTATION IN OTHER INTERNATIONAL NEGOTIATIONS
SUCH AS THE LAW OF THE SEA CONFERENCE, THE WORLD
FOOD CONFERENCE AND THE WORLD POPULATION CONFERENCE.

THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE COMMUNITY SHOULD PROMOTE A
DECENT LIFE FOR ALL ITS CITIZENS.

NO COMMUNITY IS WORTHY OF ITS NAME THAT DOES NOT
ACTIVELY FOSTER THE DIGNITY AND PROSPERITY OF ITS PEOPLES.
THE UNITED STATES AS THE RICHEST AND MOST POWERFUL
COUNTRY IN THE HEMISPHERE RECOGNIZES A SPECIAL OBLIGATION
IN THIS REGARD.

LET ME SKETCH HERE THE PROGRAM WHICH PRESIDENT NIXON
HAS AUTHORIZED AND WHICH I SHALL DISCUSS IN GREATER DETAIL
WITH MY COLLEAGUES THIS AFTERNOON.

-- FIRST, IN TRADE. DURING THE PERIOD OF GREAT
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ECONOMIC UNCERTAINTY ARISING FROM THE ENERGY SITUATION, IT
IS ESSENTIAL THAT NATIONS BEHAVE COOPERATIVELY AND NOT TAKE
PROTECTIVE OR RESTRICTIVE ACTION. I PLEDGE TO YOU TODAY
THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL DO ITS UTMOST TO AVOID PLACING
ANY NEW LIMITATIONS ON ACCESS BY LATIN AMERICA TO ITS
DOMESTIC MARKET.

IN THE SAME SPIRIT WE RENEW OUR COMMITMENT TO THE
SYSTEM OF GENERALIZED TARIFF PREFERENCES. WE SHALL
STRONGLY SUPPORT THIS LEGISLATION. ONCE IT IS ENACTED,
WE WILL CONSULT CLOSELY WITH YOU ON HOW IT CAN BE MOST

BENEFICIAL TO YOUR NEEDS.

-- SECOND, IN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY. WE WANT TO IMPROVE OUR PRIVATE AND GOVERNMENTAL EFFORTS TO MAKE AVAILABLE NEEDED TECHNOLOGY, SUITED TO VARYING STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT IN SUCH VITAL AREAS AS EDUCATION, HOUSING AND AGRICULTURE. PRIVATE ENTERPRISE IS THE MOST EFFECTIVE CARRIER OF TECHNOLOGY ACROSS NATIONAL BORDERS, BUT GOVERNMENT, WHILE NOT A SUBSTITUTE, CAN USEFULLY APPRAISE THE OVERALL NEEDS AND SPUR PROGRESS. THE UNITED STATES THEREFORE RECOMMENDS THAT WE ESTABLISH AN INTER-AMERICAN COMMISSION ON TECHNOLOGY. IT SHOULD BE COMPOSED OF LEADING

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SCIENTISTS AND EXPERTS FROM ALL THE AMERICAS AND REPORT TO GOVERNMENTS ON THE BASIS OF REGULAR MEETINGS.

-- THIRD, IN ENERGY. THIS HEMISPHERE, LINKING OIL-PRODUCING AND OIL-CONSUMING COUNTRIES, IS UNIQUELY SITUATED FOR COOPERATIVE SOLUTIONS OF THIS PROBLEM. THE UNITED STATES IS PREPARED TO SHARE RESEARCH FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF ENERGY SOURCES. WE WILL ENCOURAGE THE INTER-AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK TO ADAPT ITS LENDING AND FUND-RAISING ACTIVITIES TO CUSHION THE CURRENT STRAINS. WE ARE ALSO PREPARED TO EXPLORE WAYS OF FINANCING OIL DEFICITS, INCLUDING THE REMOVAL OF REMAINING INSTITUTIONAL IMPEDIMENTS TO YOUR ACCESS TO UNITED STATES CAPITAL MARKETS.

-- FOURTH, IN DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE. THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT IN ITS EXECUTIVE BRANCH IS COMMITTED

TO MAINTAIN OUR AID LEVELS, DESPITE RISING ENERGY COSTS.
ON THE OTHER HAND, THE DEVELOPMENT PROBLEM CAN NO LONGER
BE RESOLVED SIMPLY BY ACCELERATING OFFICIAL ASSISTANCE.
WE NEED A COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW AND RECOMMENDATIONS ON HOW
ALL FLOWS OF CAPITAL AND TECHNOLOGY -- WHETHER FROM
CONCESSIONAL ASSISTANCE, WORLD CAPITAL MARKETS OR EXPORT
CREDITS -- CAN CONTRIBUTE MOST EFFECTIVELY TO HEMISPHERIC
NEEDS. I RECOMMEND CHARGING AN INTER-AMERICAN BODY WITH
THESE TASKS.

-- FIFTH, IN RESHAPING THE INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM.

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WE MUST IDENTIFY AND PRESERVE THOSE ASPECTS OF THE RIO
TREATY AND THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES WHICH HAVE
SHIELDED THE HEMISPHERE FROM OUTSIDE CONFLICT AND HELPED
PRESERVE REGIONAL PEACE.

SOME FORM OF INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE FOR PEACE AND
COOPERATION IS CLEARLY NECESSARY. HOWEVER, WE MUST REINFORCE
THE FORMAL
STRUCTURE OF THE OAS BY MODERNIZING ITS INSTITUTIONS
AND AGREEING ON THE PRINCIPLES OF INTER-AMERICAN RELATIONS.
THE UNITED STATES IS PREPARED TO COOPERATE IN CREATIVE
ADJUSTMENTS TO MEET NEW CONDITIONS.

NEXT STEPS

A SPANISH POET ONCE WROTE: "TRAVELER, THERE IS NO PATH;
PATHS ARE MADE BY WALKING."

THIS IS OUR MOST IMMEDIATE NEED. WE ARE NOT HERE TO
WRITE A COMMUNIQUE BUT TO CHART A COURSE. OUR SUCCESS WILL
BE MEASURED BY WHETHER WE IN FACT START A JOURNEY. I SUGGEST
WE MOVE AHEAD IN THREE WAYS:

FIRST, LET US MAKE CLEAR TO OUR PEOPLES THAT WE DO
HAVE A COMMON DESTINY AND A MODERN FRAMEWORK FOR
EFFECTIVE COOPERATION.

-- SECOND, LET US AGREE ON AN AGENDA FOR THE AMERICAS,
A COURSE OF ACTIONS THAT WILL GIVE SUBSTANCE TO
OUR CONSENSUS AND INSPIRATION TO OUR PEOPLES.

-- THIRD, LET US DEFINE A PROGRAM TO BRING THAT AGENDA
TO LIFE.

MR. PRESIDENT, MY DISTINGUISHED COLLEAGUES, FOUR

CENTURIES AGO TOTALLY ALIEN CULTURES MET FOR THE FIRST
TIME NEAR HERE. WE ARE MOVING TOWARDS A WORLD WHOSE DEMANDS
UPON US ARE NEARLY AS ALIEN TO OUR EXPERIENCE AS WERE THE
SPANIARDS AND THE AZTECS TO EACH OTHER.

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TODAY, IF WE ARE TO MEET THE UNPRECEDENTED CHALLENGE
OF AN INTERDEPENDENT WORLD, WE WILL ALSO HAVE TO SUMMON
COURAGE, FAITH, AND DEDICATION. THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES
WE CAN BUILD A WORLD WORTHY OF THE BEST IN US IN CONCERT
WITH OUR FRIENDS AND NEIGHBORS. WE WANT FUTURE GENERATIONS
TO SAY THAT IN 1974, IN MEXICO, THE NATIONS OF THE WESTERN
HEMISPHERE TOOK A NEW STEP FOR A NEW GENERATION.

I AM REMINDED OF THE CLOSING WORDS OF A REMARKABLE
BOOK BY AN AUTHOR WHOSE HUMAN INSIGHTS SHOULD NOT BE REJECTED
BECAUSE OF HIS POLITICAL DIFFERENCES WITH SOME OF US IN THIS
HALL" "PEOPLES CONDEMNED TO A HUNDRED YEARS OF SOLITUDE DO
NOT HAVE A SECOND OPPORTUNITY ON EARTH."

WE ARE MEETING AT A MOMENT OF OPPORTUNITY FOR THE
AMERICAS. WE CAN CHOOSE COMMUNITY OR SOLITUDE, FULFILLMENT
OR FRUSTRATION. ONE HUNDREAD YEARS HENCE LET MEN SAY WE
CHOSE COMMUNITY/..
KISSINGER

UNCLASSIFIED

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: SPEECHES, FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETINGS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 21 FEB 1974
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: n/a
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: n/a
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment:
Disposition Date: 01 JAN 1960
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974MEXICO01503
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Film Number: n/a
From: MEXICO
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19740218/aaaaaraq.tel
Line Count: 685
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 13
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: n/a
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: WorrelSW
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 25 FEB 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <25 FEB 2002 by elbezefj>; APPROVED <02 DEC 2002 by WorrelSW>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: n/a
TAGS: PFOR, OVIP, US, XM, MX, (KISSINGER, HENRY A)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005